OPPENHEIMER'S "FOLLY": AN ALSOP FABLE BY WALDO FRANK

THE Nation

March 5, 1955
20c

The Abortion Racket

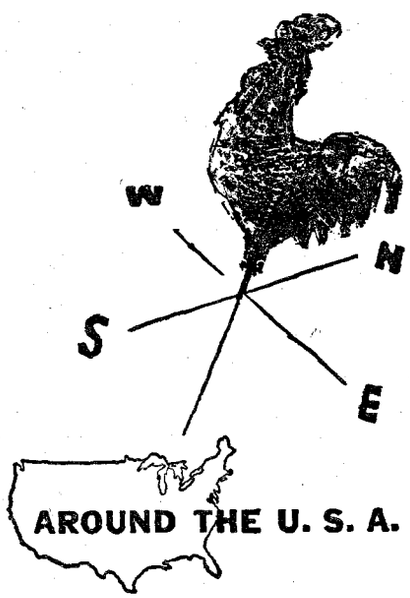
by Edwin M. Schur

MAR 4 1955
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Where East Met West *Fred Clarke*
How Much For Ivan? *M. V. Condoide*
The Fight Against Rearmament *Editorial*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Community That Saved Itself

Chicago

A UNIQUE experiment in stopping a slum before it gets started has been inaugurated by the residents of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area in Chicago. With government help, made possible by the urban-renewal provisions of the 1954 federal Housing Act, this middle-aged community is determined to save itself from an old age of blight and deterioration.

The first step was taken five years ago when at the instigation of the Social Order Committee of the Fifty-seventh Street Society of Friends forty members of the community met in the parlors of the First Unitarian Church to discuss the changing character of their neighborhoods. These people refused to accept the inevitability of decay in a community that was basically a good place in which to live, work, and raise a family.

Among them were religious leaders, business and professional men and women, and representatives of the Negroes and Nisei who had been moving into the area in recent years. All engaged in a frank and full discussion of the problems of overcrowding, interracial living, flight to the suburbs, inadequate schools, and the increasing incidence of crime. Since it was agreed that the most urgent need was to rouse people from their hopelessness and apathy, the best way to start seemed to be to form an organization of citizens willing to tackle the job in their own hearts, their own backyards, and their own blocks. Everybody's involvement was the goal. The organization born that night was the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference.

A month later the group, enlarged to 150, met again and adopted a statement of purpose of which this is the first paragraph:

> We stand for basic human rights, taught by our religious faiths, by ethics, and by the Constitution of the United States, among them the rights of all persons, irrespective of race, creed, color, or national origin, peacefully and lawfully to bargain for, rent, buy, and occupy living space, to entertain guests in their homes, and to travel in our community, unmolested.

Later paragraphs reaffirmed the conviction that "overcrowding, not Negro occupancy, is responsible for urban decay" and outlined a program for maintaining community standards, providing recreation for young people, furthering community integration, and making long-range plans for the community's future.

THE first year of the conference's existence saw heroic efforts by volunteer workers to man the fort. Block groups were formed to tackle immediate problems; officers of the conference went from one organizing meeting to another, mustering increasing community support. By the end of the first year the conference could afford a small office and the services of an executive director.

The conference celebrated its fifth birthday on December 1 last at a community rally. It took stock of its accomplishments and charted the complex challenge of the future. It now has some two thousand members, a budget which allows for a staff of eight, and a board of thirty-six directors which coordinates the activities of the various working committees. More than two hundred block strips have been organized. Members have set up standards for block maintenance and improvement, turned vacant lots into playgrounds, painted and landscaped property, campaigned for better lighting, undertaken sidewalk repairs and rat extermination, and seen to the removal of abandoned cars. Countless illegal conversions have been prevented, and hundreds of building and zoning violations corrected. The schools committee has cooperated with other agencies to obtain appropriations for five school additions. Lawyers in the membership have helped draft amendments for revision of the municipal code and proposed needed legislation. City planners have given their services in community-appraisal studies.

At the heart of the conference is the block organization—an approach which distinguishes it from other groups in the community. But the conference does not organize blocks from outside. The initiative must come from the residents. If they recognize they have a problem and need help, they can go to the conference office for guidance and with its aid establish liaison with the proper municipal authorities and other block groups. One of the conference leaders expressed the deeper meaning of block organization when he said, "It is only through working together that people acquire meaning for one another, and the meaning people have for one another makes the neighborhood their home."

In the spring of 1952 the conference was joined in its fight against deterioration by the Southeast Chicago Commission, which has marshaled the resources of the University of Chicago and of the business community behind urban rehabilitation. Next the Chicago Land Clearance Commission was induced to extend its activities into the area. The first Urban Renewal Plan in the country under the new federal housing act is the product of the combined efforts of these volunteer citizens' groups working in cooperation with government agencies.

AUDREY PROBST

AUDREY PROBST is managing editor of the University of Chicago Magazine.

COMING NEXT WEEK

"The Riddle of David Lawrence"
By Edgar Kemler

A study of one of journalism's most provocative and baffling personalities.

ALSO COMING SOON

A first-hand report on the progress of India's five-year plan by T. Balogh, noted British economist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 10
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1955

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Resistance in Depth

Though expected, Chancellor Adenauer's victory in the Bundestag was so decisive that one might reasonably anticipate a prompt collapse of the opposition. The best observers on the spot, however, do not take this view. The resistance to the treaties was more than a noisy, tumultuous campaign. It was a resistance in depth, as our report from Geneva on page 191 clearly demonstrates. It embraced not merely the organized Social Democrats and the labor forces but many groups that have no other political ties with the left. And so, while the Bundestag action is a blow to those who regard German rearmament as a threat in itself and an instigation of war, opposition will not end.

According to M. S. Handler in the New York *Times* the Socialists feel that they have won a "tremendous propaganda victory," undermining the authority of the Bonn government. He reported their effective use of radio and television in the Bundestag proceedings to spread throughout the country their contention that the agreements would "reduce [the German people] to colonial status in relation to the NATO powers and would result in the permanent partition of Germany." This argument was luridly high-lighted by the government itself. Dr. Erhard, Minister of Economics, warned the deputies that if the agreements were not ratified the West would "abandon" the Federal Republic. He claimed that rearmament would cost Germany only nine billion marks annually. When a Socialist called out, "What will you do if it costs more?" Erhard shouted back, "Then let the Americans pay." A more flagrant admission that the agreements are primarily instruments of Washington foreign policy could hardly be imagined. Such abasement can do the Adenauer government little good in the country even if it wins a round in the Bundestag.

Faure's Key Role

What the German opponents of rearmament now intend to do is to contest each further step necessary to implement the decision reached Sunday. Above all they plan to use the interval of time between ratification and the creation of the first German divisions to insist upon negotiations with the Russians. Much depends on the French. One can assume that the new French Premier, Edgar Faure, who took office on a pledge of prompt ratification, will push the treaties through the Council of the Republic, though his task has been made more difficult by the fact that the Bundestag chose to tack on to its ratification of the Paris agreements a resolution reaffirming German claims to the Saar. But if ratification is coupled with an urgent demand for talks with Moscow before any Germans are given arms, the case may not be lost. For Russia's own behavior will doubtless be influenced by its estimate of the strength of the resistance to rearmament, both in Germany and France.

Those Who Get Tapped

A bit of information which came to light in the course of the investigation of Serge Rubinstein's murder in New York may block further consideration at this session of Congress of Attorney General Brownell's renewed request for legislation authorizing wiretapping. Raiding an apartment in the swank East Fifties police discovered an elaborate wiretapping set-up. Conversations could be picked up on any line leading into the six large telephone exchanges which cover the area between Thirty-seventh and Ninety-second Street, from Fifth Avenue to the East River. Modern electronic equipment found in the apartment was capable of picking up vibrations from planted microphones, without the use of wires, at distances of more than three hundred yards. Among the telephones tapped, in addition to those of the inevitable burlesque dancer and model, were those of executives of E. R. Squibb and Sons, and of the St. Joseph Lead Company, the largest lead-mining company in this country. One victim, a manufacturer's representative, commented: "I have read about wiretapping, but I never thought of it affecting me at all." The news that East Side numbers were being tapped with such ease and in such volume produced a storm of protest. Senator Irving M. Ives promptly joined with other prominent citizens in demanding an investigation; the Senator's apartment in the John Murray House lies within the belt covered by the recent taps. A New York State legislative investigation is now in the making, and United States Senator McClellan may order the staff of the Senate investigations subcommittee to check up on the extent of government wiretapping in Washington. Nothing quite like this spasm of protest was registered last spring when Mr. Brownell was trying to steam-roller his wiretapping proposal through Congress. But then, of course, there was no evidence that such exchanges as Templeton 8, Plaza 1, 3, and 5, and Eldorado 5 were being tapped. As always, much depends on whose ox is being gored.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 189

The Fight Against Rearmament 191

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 192

Oppenheimer's "Folly": An Alsop Fable
by Waldo Frank 193

Where East Met West: Unity Among Workers
by Fred Clarke 195

How Much for Ivan? An Old Kremlin Problem
by M. V. Condoide 197

The Abortion Racket: Product of Laggard Law
by Edwin M. Schur 199

BOOKS

Lippmann on Democracy
by Max Freedman 202

"Romantic" Image of the Self
by Perry Miller 203

Satire Through Mimicry
by Stanley Cooperman 204

Books in Brief 205

FILMS by Robert Hatch 206

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 207

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 609
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 208

AROUND THE U. S. A.
The Community That Saved Itself
by Audrey Probst opposite 189

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, March 5, 1955, Volume 180, No. 10

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address**: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"Constant, Consistent Coaching"

The collapse of the government's case against Edward Lamb (see articles in *The Nation*, June 12, 1954, and February 5, 1955) once again emphasizes the risks and responsibilities that any government agency takes in sponsoring the testimony of political informers. Mrs. Marie Natvig, recalled by Mr. Lamb's counsel, has gaily confessed that her testimony was "concocted" and even admits that she has difficulty in distinguishing fact from fiction. Another witness, who has been serving as a "consultant on communism" for the Department of Justice for nearly two years, has also confessed that testimony he gave against Mr. Lamb was wholly false.

In the case of these witnesses, as in the case of Harvey Matusow, a major point is being obscured by the reiterated query: "How can we tell when the witness lied?" This is always an interesting question, and in a perjury prosecution it would be a relevant one as well. But no amount of speculation about when a witness who admits having lied is to be believed should be permitted to divert attention from the fact that recanted testimony is unreliable. In the case of Mrs. Natvig the examiner did the only thing he could do under the circumstances: he rejected her testimony as "completely incredible." But there is another point at issue in these cases. The recanting witnesses in the Lamb case swear that they were "coached" by government counsel and complain of "coercion." That the credibility of neither witness is impressive will hardly excuse the Federal Communications Commission from the unpleasant duty of investigating their charges. It is shocking enough that government counsel should call such unsavory witnesses without careful investigation of their credibility; it is unthinkable that a charge, made under oath, of "constant, consistent coaching" by government counsel should be ignored.

Instruments of National Policy

Speaking at the University of Michigan's School of Journalism recently Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, charged the American press with responsibility for the fact that Formosa remains the "most underexplained story of 1955." Nine-tenths of the people, in his view, "don't know what it's all about."

Two days later, in an apologetic attempt to explain why readers of the New York *Times* had to be kept more or less in the dark about Washington's intentions in relation to Quemoy and Matsu, James Reston put his finger on the source of the trouble. Nowadays policy is largely formed in secret sessions, and then, when the public becomes restive and demands an explanation, unnamed officials use the "background press conference" to brief the press, and through the press the people, on policies which have been "adopted" in secrecy and never debated. For example, all the recent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

testimony on Formosa, with the exception of Mr. Dulles's formal statement, remains undisclosed. In such an atmosphere and setting Washington officials use the press as "an instrument of the government's diplomacy or propaganda in the cold war."

The phrase "instrument of national policy" first appeared in the headlines in 1949 when it was used by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association to characterize the relation of the schools to the government in a time of cold war. More recently it has been suggested that other basic institutions of a democratic society, such as trade unions and churches, should also be regarded as instruments of national policy. Now the press seems to be thought of in the same sense. A press that feeds its readers off-the-record "briefings" in lieu of the straight news which it lacks the wit, courage, and energy to seek out and report may be free, but it is shirking its basic responsibility.

The Fight Against Rearmament

[*The following dispatch from* The Nation's *Geneva correspondent, received before the week-end vote approving the Paris treaties was recorded in Bonn, tells of the widespread nature of the resistance to German rearmament among the people of West Germany.*]

OUR Geneva correspondent writes: The *Journal de Geneve,* founded in 1826, is the newspaper par excellence of the Swiss bourgeois. Moderate in tone, seldom losing its temper, always seeking the golden mean, its policy is guided by traditional Swiss neutralism seasoned with an anti-Communist bias and a pro-Western orientation.

In recent weeks, however, its calm has been upset by a series of raucous, splenetic dispatches from its Bonn correspondent. George Blum has been literally beside himself with rage at the popular movement in Western Germany against rearmament and for reunification. Although led by the Social Democratic Party, the trade unions, and the Evangelical churches, the movement to him is little better than a Communist plot, the extensive campaign of meetings and petitioning in west German cities a revival of Nazi methods.

In a recent front-page editorial headed The Opposition to German Rearmament the *Journal de Geneve* righted the balance. The views of the writer, Jacques Courvoisier, deserve to be heard far beyond the borders of Switzerland.

The readers of the paper, he insists, have the right to objective news coverage, which he then assembles from many reports originating in Germany and from information provided by Pastor Niemoeller on his recent visit to Geneva. "A constantly growing section of West German opinion," says Courvoisier, "is taking a stand against rearmament of the country and has launched a determined struggle against the Paris agreements."

Last November 3, two hundred Rhineland pastors issued a manifesto declaring that reasons of conscience forbade them to abide by a new recruiting law and warning the government that enlistment of minors contravened Article 6 of the constitution, guaranteeing parental authority.

On December 8 twenty-seven outstanding leaders of the Protestant churches addressed a letter to the Bundestag deputies on the gravity of a decision that in their mind would shake the foundations of German democracy.

> It is the duty of the church to counsel its members on their civic responsibilities in this sphere. How they will acquit themselves in this task on the day that legislative measures fraught with inextricable conflicts are taken cannot be foreseen.

On January 19 an imposing conference was held at historic St. Paul's Church in Frankfort, attended by representatives of Protestant and Catholic denominations, the Socialist Party, leading trade unions, and distinguished professors, and by Dr. Heinemann, a former minister in the Adenauer Cabinet. Sounding the theme of "Save unity, freedom, peace against communism and nationalism," a manifesto with five hundred signatures called for a determined resistance against anything likely to prevent the reunification of Germany, for rejection of the Paris agreements, and for a clear demonstration to the occupying powers of the German people's will to unity.

Among the church dignitaries associated with this movement are Messrs. Dehn, Diem, Gollwitzer, Heinrich Vogel, Iwand, Niesel, Niemoeller, Ernst Wolff, and Sigmund Schultze. Many of them, Courvoisier says, had sufficient faith and courage twenty years ago to resist national socialism, and he adds that this is reason enough to listen to their objections to rearmament.

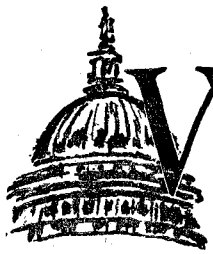
> For these Germans, and I believe I can say that they belong to the elite of their people, rearmament has come to be a nightmare. This is so because the healthiest elements of the German people, despite everything, learned something from the last war; and if there still remain some for whom the greatness of a people derives from military might, they are no longer as preponderant as they once were. Fifteen years ago the fact that large sections of the population finally understood this would have been hailed as a victory of the spirit. . . . Like a recuperating drug addict, the typical German is horrified at the thought of being forced to resume the hateful habit.

Ratification of the Paris agreements before all possibility of negotiations are exhausted, most Germans believe, not only threatens to perpetuate a division of the country, but is venturing on a dangerous path. "We say no to the Paris agreements," says Pastor Ernest Langer, ". . . because the policy of force associated with the rearmament of both parts of Germany is a policy of despair; and despair is not conducive to peace."

While careful to point out that not all the Evan-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gelical churches are publicly opposed to rearmament—the conference of churches in both zones held early this month at Hanover refused to take a position on the Paris agreements—Courvoisier nevertheless affirms that German Protestants, and many Catholics, are unanimous in their desire for peace and unity. "We Swiss," he concludes, "have fought too hard for our unity in the past not to lend an ear to the distress of a people so ardently seeking unity, and this time without any desire to attain it at the expense of others."



Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

HARVEY Matusow never gives the impression of being tortured by his conscience. He is garrulous rather than penitent. He sat with his hands firmly clasped, rarely fumbled for a note, and betrayed his well-concealed nervousness only by the glasses of water he drank. His answers to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee were delivered in a resonant voice, sometimes with a note of defiance, never with the muted accents of despair. He seemed to be enjoying his confessional. The committee never really solved the problem of bringing him under its restraint without becoming entangled in his misdeeds. It knew that as he discredited himself he also cast suspicion on the judgment of the committees which had paraded him as an expert on communism. This anxiety formed the real focus of the hearings.

Matusow's trail of lies was not broad enough to hide one perplexing fact. He claimed to have broken with Communism; yet his closest friends and associates were either known Communists or had been accused by him of being Communists. How did Matusow explain this strange behavior? He never really did. There was one unbelievably bizarre episode when he and Senator Jenner tried to decipher the inscrutable purposes of God. Matusow suggested that he was prompted by religious motives in cherishing no enmities against these men. Apart from these freakish parodies of a soul in torment, Matusow blustered and blundered; bluntly denounced himself as a paid assassin of character or blandly admitted that he and the truth had never conducted even the most experimental relationship. But on this central point he remained evasive to the end.

During the second day's questioning of Matusow the committee became interested in charges which he had made about Edward Lamb of Toledo, Ohio, whose case before the Federal Communications Commission has commanded national attention because of the unjust accusations brought against him and later recanted. Matusow testified that he had accused Lamb of "being a Communist-fronter" in a speech before the "Keep America Free Council" at North Canton, Ohio. He didn't believe he had ever charged Lamb with being a Communist, though he added: "I wouldn't put anything past me in that period."

Then Matusow was cross-examined by Mr. Sourwine, committee counsel:

SOURWINE: Have you intended to testify here that you went down to Washington at the request of Mr. Brown, attorney for Mr. Lamb?

MATUSOW: At the request of an intermediary.

SOURWINE: Who was that intermediary?

MATUSOW: Carey McWilliams, the editor of The Nation magazine.

SOURWINE: Did Mr. McWilliams approach you about this matter or did you approach him?

MATUSOW: He approached me.

SOURWINE: What did he tell you?

MATUSOW: He told me that Mr. Brown was the attorney for Mr. Lamb and was interested to find out if I had any information which might be relevant to the case.

SOURWINE: Did he say Mr. Brown had asked him to get in touch with you?

MATUSOW: I believe so.

SOURWINE: Who is Carey McWilliams?

MATUSOW: The editor of The Nation magazine.

SOURWINE: Is he a Communist?

MATUSOW: I don't know him as such.

SOURWINE: The fact that he is editor of The Nation magazine, that is not a Communist connection, is it?

MATUSOW: I don't think it is.

SOURWINE: Have you heard of anything, do you know of anything that was a Communist connection?

MATUSOW: I believe in 1952, in the campaign, at least in one speech, now that I remember it, I got up and said that this fellow Carey McWilliams has forty-six—that is my favorite figure—forty-six Communist organizations to his credit. That was it. He attacked Senator McCarthy. I believe it was in my Wisconsin speech in Madison or Green Bay, I said he had forty-five or forty-six Communist fronts to his credit and therefore must be a Communist. He attacks McCarthy.

SOURWINE: How did Mr. McWilliams get in touch with you about seeing Mr. Brown?

MATUSOW: I got in touch with him first about the book.

SOURWINE: What had you gone to see him about?

MATUSOW: I had read an article in The Nation magazine on informers and I went there. I introduced myself and said, "I think it is a fine article but it doesn't go far enough. Informers, like I have been, are a lot more bastardly than this article has them set out to be." He said, "Well, what are you doing about it?" I said, "I am writing a book." He said, "Well, some day I might be interested in using some of the material if it bears out what you say it is going to be."

SOURWINE: When was this?

MATUSOW: Back in late March, I guess.

SOURWINE: Of what year?

MATUSOW: 1954. . . It might have been April. . . And I told him that I was trying to undo some of the harm I had done in unjustly attacking people or accusing people. I wasn't going to sit as judge and jury on people, whether they are or are not various things politically, because that was their business and was none of mine. The next day or two days later, I called him up again. I told him I would call him back. I wanted to find out if he knew anybody who was interested in my book in the way of a publisher, and he said that his fellow Brown called him and wanted to know if I knew anything about the Lamb case. I said, "Well, I was in Ohio and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I probably could help him. At least I will try to, because that is what I am trying to do to a lot of people. I will help them when I believe they have been hurt unjustly."

SOURWINE: Mr. Matusow, according to Mr. McWilliams then, is it your statement that he heard from Mr. Brown between the time that you visited him first and the time that you called him upon the telephone?

MATUSOW: It might have been another visit to his office. I saw Mr. McWilliams a dozen times during that period in relation to getting somebody to publish the book. He is in the publishing field. I don't recall on what visit this Brown subject came up. It might have been my third or fourth visit.

SOURWINE: You didn't volunteer to come down at your own expense, did you?

MATUSOW: No, I didn't.

SOURWINE: You had other business in Washington at that time, didn't you?

MATUSOW: I don't recall.

SOURWINE: You never did see Mr. Brown alone, did you?

MATUSOW: I don't recall if I—in the hotel lobby it wasn't alone. So I don't believe I did.

SOURWINE: So there would be at least two witnesses to everything that happened between you and Mr. Brown, wouldn't there be?

MATUSOW: Apparently so.

SOURWINE: You saw Mr. McWilliams alone though, didn't you?

MATUSOW: Yes, sir.

No Senator asked any questions.

But the most important sequel was the virtual unanimity of opinion that there is something indefensible about a system which lets a witness like Matusow enjoy the confidence of Congressional committees. This aspect of the case plainly disturbed Senator Eastland as the subcommittee's chairman. Yet he is reluctant to impose new restraints on the use of informers. He regards Matusow as an unfortunate episode rather than as the inevitable penalty exacted by an unjust system. This clamorous exposure of a self-confessed liar will be no more than an experiment in vulgarity unless it teaches Congress and the Department of Justice to treat informers with greater scepticism and caution.

BEHIND Speaker Sam Rayburn's complaint at the lack of notice which he receives about President Eisenhower's legislative program is much more than an irritated sense of outraged dignity. He removed all doubt on that point by his swift repudiation of President Eisenhower's suggestion that everything could be put right by a telephone call to the White House. The Democratic Party intends to be something more than a rescue squad for the President's policies. It also intends to use its power in Congress to write its own program as the essential prelude to the 1956 campaign. The tax reduction is only the first sign of that strategy. That is why the President spoke out so emphatically against the Democrats. Despite that protest the conviction remains overwhelming that the Republicans are angry at the Democrats for having taken the lead in tax reductions. By making this bold stand now Speaker Rayburn has shown the White House that the Democrats have a mind of their own and policies of their own even when they cooperate with President Eisenhower on issues beyond the immediate range of party battle.

OPPENHEIMER'S "FOLLY"

An Alsop Fable . . . *by Waldo Frank*

WHEN the Alsops borrowed the famous title of Emile Zola for their recent book, "We Accuse," their wish was to suggest analogies between "the shocking miscarriage of justice" in the Dreyfus and Oppenheimer cases. But what they reveal is deep differences in the states of mind of two countries and two epochs. They wanted to expose our current American process of security from subversion as "an *in*security system, because . . . we have forgotten our American traditions; we have borrowed the methods of the enemy; we have made intelligence and originality dangerous to their possessors; and we have placed the highest premium on insipid cowardice and feeble conformity." But what they bring to light is perilous trends in such loyal and typical thinking as their own. The actors in this play, as in all good drama, stand for more than themselves. Even the Alsops, courageous political journalists who cannot be charged with consciousness of a poetic mission, become a symbol.

For Joseph and Stewart Alsop represent what might be called an aristocracy of American tradition. Schooled at Groton, the American Eton, at Harvard and at Yale; sprung from a family which has produced three Presidents—James Monroe and Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt—they speak up against the smog of hysterical fear, complacence, and backstairs espionage which calls itself "security surveillances" in what rings like the old, clear voice of our country, the voice that swept away the Alien and Sedition Laws and Know-Nothingism. One thinks of Thomas Jefferson, and one takes comfort.

But let us listen with more care. Oppenheimer, when a young man, became a critic of our social system and our culture. Spain, a groping and fumbling democracy, was being murdered, less by fascist assault than by the betrayal of France, Britain, the United States. The Germans, a people of the vanguard of the West, were enthusiastically embracing a maniac who had declared his program for murdering the spirit of man. A cruel depression at home was crushing the dream of our youth while our politicians, in line with those of France and Britain, pre-

WALDO FRANK analyzed the transcript of the hearings on Dr. Oppenheimer before the Personnel Security Board of the A. E. C. in The Nation *of September 25, 1954.*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pared the ground for the dream of Hitler. Moved by these perils, the young scientist was sympathetic to the ideals of social revolution. He does not appear to have analyzed the psychological flaws in the philosophy of Marx, although he was not a Communist. He shared, naively, the creative impulse which he indubitably found in the young men and women on the campus at Berkeley. And for this lyrical and generous and fertile emotion, mother of human growth, the Alsops find no word but *folly*. They repeat it, again and again. Folly! As if the creative, erring potency of youth could be brushed off as a children's disease, a kind of measles, from which maturity recovers! Jefferson was the man who declared for the healthfulness of revolution every thirty years. He would have said of the young Oppenheimer: "He is noble in his dissenting, generous in his seeking, free in his adventuring. In his naive faith in a governmental system that would enforce freedom by police methods, he is wrong. But such mistaking is part of the experiment of creation." If the Alsops with their complacent assumption that dissent from the American way of life is folly—nothing but folly—represent the tradition of Jefferson today, we must acknowledge its decay.

THE Alsops' allusion to the Dreyfus case is less reminder than irony. Zola's "J'accuse," which filled an issue of a Parisian daily newspaper, electrified France. The land rose to fight a battle of the spirit. Families and lovers split upon the question. The nation's leading men—artists, scientists, statesmen, scholars—came forward as in war, playing their liberties, their fortunes, their lives. Justice for a single, humble man became the symbol for a revolution. And when the false accusers were broken, in prison, in exile, in suicide, the conspiracy of the reactionary army, allied to the *grandes familles* of France and to the servile hierarchy of a church, had lost its power in France forever—except for the interlude of Hitler. How this contrasts with the muffled confusion of our country! The Alsop book is hardly reviewed by the press, except non-committally as a "news item." True, the scientists have bravely protested. Princeton has been loyal; Columbia has honored itself by giving the assailed man a conspicuous part in its bi-centennial exercises. (The president of the University of Washington barred him as a guest lecturer.) But I have felt no fever pulse in the people or their leaders, seen no mobilized opinion—like that led by Clemenceau, Anatole France, Halevy, Zola—take the streets of Washington and New York.

Robert Oppenheimer

Yet the analogy of Dreyfus, accused of a crime through a forged letter, and Oppenheimer, vaguely impugned as a "security risk," is valid. In the one case anti-Semitism masked an assault on the sovereign freedom of the French people; in the other anti-intellectualism sets up an Inquisition through which human love, whose way is search and intellectual doubt, is humiliated by the concealed dogmas of bureaucrats and their pettifogging counsel—to be expunged from the leadership of our country. The French people saw an issue and decided it. We Americans, not because we love our truth less but because we have been prevented from seeing it and from sensing the threats against it, have decided nothing. And this, in the hour of global decision! America's sensibility and sensitivity today are molded, not by our teachers and artists, not by our legitimate intellectual and spiritual leaders (they exist, and are as dedicated and as able as any in the world), but by soldiers, lawyer-politicians, business magnates with their clowns, apologists, and technological servants. With TV, the radio, the merchandise bazaars that call themselves the magazines and press blaring at them at top voice twenty-four hours a day, the people have little consciousness left with which to solve the lethal problems that confront us. The result is anesthesia and confusion.

IN TRAGEDY the hero becomes the principal victim of his own character. If fate dooms Oedipus, it is his character that has blinded and destroyed him. If Hamlet is overwhelmed, it is because *his* world was too much with him. The ethical issues which our people have failed to seize in the case of Robert Oppenheimer, *he* has failed to articulate clearly in and for himself. This unclarity in him, in an age crying for light, he derives from the world in which he functioned, and it was part of what qualified him to function.

Here was a youth whose conscience and awakening sense of responsibility to his fellow-men involved him obliquely in a world revolution the early stages of which, two decades later, we are still witnessing and living—with almost no public word to identify it for us. He studies Sanskrit, not for "distraction" as the Alsops absurdly claim; he associates with radicals, not because he "had no better standards for practical political judgment than a visiting Martian." (His standards surely were at least as good as those of the "practical men" who plunged us into endemic war.) Oppenheimer reads the "Upanishads" because he already knows that a political movement whose aims imply a mature human world must know mankind at deeper than political levels; because he senses that there are scriptures which cast more penetrant light into social movements than a hundred manuals of economics. He soon learns that the crude communism of Russia fails of this basic premise of comprehension. But if this had meant that his past impulse to help change the world was "folly" and dead, he would have spiritually died—and become thereby acceptable to the Admiral Strausses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no evidence of this. But he remained unclear, and it was this unclarity, matched by that of the war years, that got him by as a public servant.

Because he loves his country, he accepts the chance to serve it. But the result is a weapon that can destroy not Hitler but man. Oppenheimer feels justified in making the Bomb at his country's command and for his country's defense. But in his work on an instrument that has already poisoned the air, he shares—and feels that he shares—the *original sin* of the age which produced not only the science behind the Bomb but the false values and the conflicts which might move men to explode it. He is again caught on the horns of a dilemma.

The moral responsibility, not of science, which is a method, but of the *scientist,* who is a human being, becomes poignant in the conscience of this man who, unlike others, has not been robotized by an abstract passion. The complexities of this ethical problem cannot be touched on here. The point is that Oppenheimer was moved by it; and that, *because he was moved,* the "Inquisition" damned him. The point is, further, that such agencies as the one over which Admiral Strauss presides inevitably draw men of *his* kind to do their potentially genocidal work—and inevitably exclude men of Oppenheimer's kind, who are alive enough to feel scruples.

As in all good drama, the action in the case of Robert Oppenheimer has had both necessity and freedom. But in this tragedy the protagonist is the chorus—the American people. The failure of our news-drugged eyes and ears to sense the meaning of this drama which is our own *is* the meaning of the drama.

We should consider the dinosaur, that huge, well-armored beast which vanished because it lacked the senses, required by its bulk and appetite, to survive in a changed world.

WHERE EAST MET WEST

Unity Among Workers . . *by Fred Clarke*

Geneva

THE first European Regional Conference of the International Labor Organization, which closed early last month, may well prove to be the last. Conceived in dispute, it opened in a snarl of conflict, proceeded to the accompaniment of threats and insults, and closed with a shaking of fists. It was a revealing experiment in coexistence. The divisions were along vertical rather than horizontal lines, with Western worker and government delegations and Eastern European representatives more often than not on the same side against the Western European employers.

The employers had been opposed to the idea of a regional conference from the outset, though they found it difficult to give plausible reasons. After all, there had been five regional conferences of American states, three of Asian states, and one for the Middle East; why not one for Europe? At the meeting of the Governing Council some of the points the employers made were patently ludicrous. Europe, they said, was not really a region, being made up of different peoples with different religions and customs; its problems were less local than universal and therefore belonged at an international conference.

The actual basis of the employers' opposition was seldom explicitly stated by their spokesmen—that there was not one but two Europes, divided by different social systems, and it were best to keep them apart. This was an extension to the field of labor relations of the idea of a Western military community. In terms of practical politics the problem had become more acute since the last general I. L. O. conference in June, 1954, when the Russians had reentered the organization and a tripartite Soviet delegation representing the government, the workers, and the employers had been seated over opposition. This meant that at a European conference, in distinction to an international one, a combination of Eastern Europe's delegations, including Yugoslavia's, with the West European workers' representatives (forty-nine of ninety-nine total votes) could, with the shifting of some government votes, maintain a constant majority against the employers. And that practically is what happened.

Tempers reached the explosion point on the fifth day of the conference. At a previous plenary session a Soviet proposal to increase the size of the employers' subcommittee from ten to fifteen so as to include Eastern European employer representation had been defeated. As a compromise, on the suggestion of the United Kingdom government delegate, the Russians then requested that three of the Eastern European employers' representatives be seated *as members* on the employers' committee on productivity, two on the retirement-age committee, and one on the social-security committee—the three main committees dealing with "technical" matters. Subsequently the British representative proposed that the Easterners' status be modified to that of deputy members, with voice only, but this was rejected by the Selections Committee by eleven votes to eight with seven abstentions.

At this point Paul Ramadier of France, speaking on behalf of the government group, put the defeated British proposal before the assembly as a whole. He described it as a moderate proposal, since the Eastern European delegates would sit in the committees in consultative capacity

FRED CLARKE, an American writer, is a close observer of the European scene.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only. But he went on to say that the organization had no choice if it wished to adhere to its principle of universality and the coexistence of countries with different social institutions within the I. L. O. He did not say it, but everyone understood that the alternative might have been a Soviet walkout on what would have appeared clear grounds of discrimination.

An angry discussion followed. The Western employers made the welkin ring with their cries of totalitarianism; never, they vowed, would they as "free employers" recognize the credentials of men who were nothing but puppets of the state; the government delegates would be held accountable for their position, which Sir Richard Snedden, heading the employers, called a "betrayal" and Pierre Waline of France warned would have "repercussions." Professor Arutiunian, leading Soviet delegate, in a fiery speech came back with the charge that the employers' delegates were really paid agents of corporations who knew little about production or relations with workers.

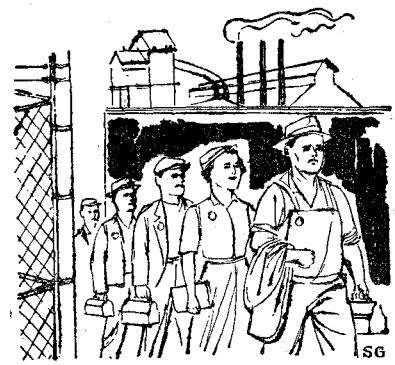
Finally, the British proposal was put to the vote and carried fifty-three to thirty. Western employers and Soviet delegates voted as a block on their respective sides; Western government and worker delegates divided. The West German worker delegate voted for the proposal; his government against it. British, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch workers' delegates voted against; their governments for. Finnish workers abstained; the government voted for. The Austrian government abstained; Austrian workers voted against. Government and worker delegates from France, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland were uniformly in favor, while tripartite delegations from Ireland, Portugal, and Turkey were solidly against, as were the Yugoslav.

On the following day the employers declared a lockout. In a letter addressed to the conference they said that since that body had taken a decision to seat the "totalitarian" states, "against the wishes of the free employers," they would cease to participate in the work of the three technical committees. Two days later Waline stoked the live embers of conflict with allegations that freedom of association for workers and the right to strike were non-existent in Eastern European countries, that an Ad Hoc U. N.-I. L. O. Committee had found these countries guilty of forced-labor practices, and that therefore their delegates must prove to the conference that their "social regime was not incompatible with the principles of the I. L. O." Arutiunian picked up the challenge at once, declaring that the employers' solicitude for free labor was sheer hypocrisy inasmuch as "the system of capitalist exploitation was one of slave labor."

Clearly the employers had hoped that by shifting the issue from that of "free employers" to that of freedom of association for workers they could again attract Western worker delegations to their side. But though this issue had dominated other I. L. O. conferences, it was to remain a minor one here. Western trade unionists were inclined to see an important principle in the recognition of the rights of Eastern European employers' representatives.

A remarkable speech to this effect was made by the French workers' delegate, Maurice Biladoux, president of the French Federation of Christian Unions, whose credentials had been unsuccessfully challenged by the Communist General Confederation of Labor, which claimed a majority of French trade unionists. Biladoux said that it was important to recognize the Soviet members as employers in a nationalized industry; the French government, too, was an employer of labor, the biggest in France. The crux of the problem, he maintained, was that trade-union leaders in the West were striving for comanagement in industry, and when this new concept was realized, "the manager of the future would not necessarily be the representative of capitalism."

M. Biladoux had clearly put his finger on the cause of the bitter resistance of Western employers to Soviet-management representation. They were fighting against the principle of nationalization in their own countries. They were less concerned about freedom from state interference—since the state has usually more to fear from corporations and cartels than vice versa—than about freedom from union interference. Shortly before the conference was convened, a million workers in the Ruhr had struck to protect and extend the practice of co-management in German industry. At the conference itself the British workers' delegate, among others, had claimed the right of collective bargaining for the unions in any scheme designed to raise productivity. This conception of "free association" probably also explains why Western trade unionists did not join their employers in fighting for rudimentary "free association" in Eastern Europe.



The employers' boycott did not destroy the tripartite nature of the I. L. O. as Sir Richard predicted it would, but it did diminish the bargaining power of the employers. The give and take in the committees occurred between worker and government representatives. This favored the workers in the final drafting of resolutions, for government delegates, with one eye on the voters back home, are usually less extreme than employer representatives, who have to answer to no one but their conservative selves. Moreover, the Soviet delegates came in with more radical proposals on all questions. For example, they wanted to eliminate workers' contributions to social-security funds, to lower the retirement age to fifty-five, to block all productivity plans in Western countries as leading to unemployment and a lowering of real wages. While those proposals were generally defeated, Western workers' delegates used them to fight off watering-down amendments from the right.

The employers were left with no alternative but to oppose the resolutions by a long series of crippling amendments on the floor of the conference. On all but one minor technical point they went down to defeat. What made the blow even more cruel was that on all these questions the votes of the Soviet bloc were joined with those of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Western workers and of some or all of the Western governments. Only in opposing the productivity resolution did the Western delegates join the employers.

The general intent of the resolutions, as Director General Morse stated, was to "level up," not down, the social legislation and the standard of living in Europe. They represented at best merely one stage in the process, since the Regional Conference is an advisory body making recommendations to the Governing Council and to the I. L. O. general conference. The state of public opinion and the strength of the unions are the important factors in the implementation of these decisions.

The controversies and even more the alignments of this conference will undoubtedly have greater repercussions than its resolutions. In his Parthian shot, Sir Richard Snedden declared that the objective of the Communist bloc since Russia's entry into the I. L. O. had been to "transform the conference into a force . . . to activate and hasten the disintegration of Europe in the industrial sense as it has patently done in the political sphere." The free employers, he served notice, are not going "to be thrown piecemeal to the Soviet wolves." Mr. Rubattel of Switzerland, president of the conference, condemned these remarks as "excessive." With that Mr. Arutiunian, who had demanded the floor to reply, declared himself satisfied.

HOW MUCH FOR IVAN?

An Old Kremlin Problem . . *by M. V. Condoide*

DURING the short-lived Malenkov regime Soviet economic policy tended to emphasize, for the first time since the establishment of the Soviet state, the needs of the consumer. Whatever other changes the departure of Malenkov may bring, it will certainly lessen or end this emphasis, except perhaps in the sphere of food production. This seems an appropriate time, therefore, to review basic Soviet economic policy and to examine the situation of the Russian consumer before and since the death of Stalin.

From the beginning Soviet economic policies were based on the planned industrialization of the country. The essence of this plan was the heavy investment of resources in new capital construction. The labor and material needed for capital construction were to be taken from the consumption of the people. The theory was that by maintaining current consumption at subsistence level and devoting the resources thus saved to the expansion of capital equipment, the total output of the economy would be rapidly increased, and the level of consumption could eventually be raised. The success of the plan depended on the state's ability to limit consumption and on the speed with which total output could be increased.

In August, 1953, Malenkov presented to the Supreme Soviet a long and candid analysis of the successes and failures of the Soviet economic system, in the course of which he disclosed a number of heretofore unknown but suspected facts. For instance, he said that between 1928 and 1953 the state invested about 1,000 billion rubles (at current prices) in the industrialization of the country, of which heavy industry received 683 billion rubles, or 65.5 per cent of the total; transport, 193 billion rubles, or 18.5 per cent; agriculture, 94 billion, or 9.0 per cent; and light industry (consumer goods), 72 billion, or 6.9 per cent. He also said that heavy industry was employing approximately 70 per cent of all industrial workers. This is in rather interesting contrast with the history of economic development elsewhere. In the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and other countries consumer-goods and capital-goods industries experienced a parallel expansion over a long period of time, a considerable majority of labor was employed in manufacturing consumer goods and providing services, and standards of living steadily improved.

In other words, while the fundamental purpose of economic activity in the Western world has been consumption, as proclaimed first by Adam Smith and 150 years later by John M. Keynes, in the Soviet Union the objectives have been entirely different. Article 11 of the present Soviet constitution states: "The economic life of the U. S. S. R. is determined and directed by the national economic plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U. S. S. R. and strengthening its defensive capacity." But until the advent of Malenkov all the other aims took precedence over that of improving the material conditions of the working people.

In September, 1953, N. Khrushchev, secretary of the Communist Party, and today apparently the number one man in the Soviet hierarchy, made an outspoken report to the party's Central Committee on the state of Russian agriculture. After a detailed account of the achievements and failures of Soviet agricultural policies he outlined projected measures to improve output, among them the provision of incentives to the peasants through tax relief and higher prices. (He also indicated the application of more con-

MIKHAIL V. CONDOIDE, author of "Russian-American Trade" and "The Soviet Financial System," is assistant professor of business research and economics at Ohio State University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trols.) He discussed the poor state of livestock breeding and the shortage of coarse grains and other fodder but emphasized that the bread problem was solved. A few months later, however, he admitted that even in the case of bread the problem was far from solved.

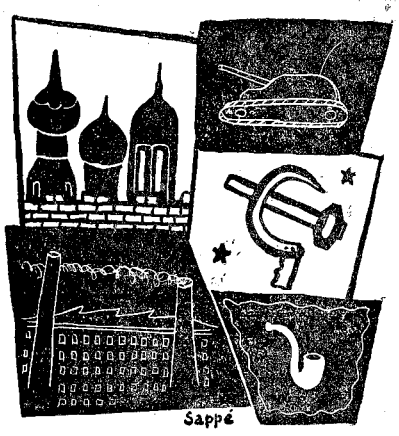
The figures on Soviet livestock population given below show the effects of the forced collectivization of the peasants and their slaughter of cattle in the early thirties and the following extremely slow recovery, interrupted by the Second World War. It is worth noting that in 1916 Russian livestock population was larger than in 1952, though Russian area and population were considerably smaller.

(In Millions)

Year	Cattle	Cows	Pigs	Sheep and Goats	Horses
1916	58.4	28.8	23.0	96.0	38.2
1928	66.8	33.2	27.7	114.6	36.1
1941	54.5	27.8	27.5	91.6	21.0
1953	56.6	24.3	28.5	109.9	15.3

IN DECEMBER, 1947, the Soviet authorities purged their financial system by repudiating two-thirds of their national debt and converting the bulk of the old currency into a new one at the ratio of ten to one. At the same time they abolished rationing and established a unified price system, lowering prices on a variety of commodities, raising them on others. The regime claimed that the reform increased the real income of the Soviet population, and this may have been true for city dwellers, but it is questionable whether the rural population benefited.

A fair proportion of the urban population had small savings which were converted at the rate of one new ruble for one old one on accounts up to 3,000 rubles. The peasants had accumulated large quantities of paper rubles during the war by selling their surplus output in the free market. But they were compelled to exchange these hoarded rubles at the rate of ten to one. Since this financial reform the Soviet government has annually lowered prices from 5 to 15 or even 20 per cent on a variety of consumer goods. This means, obviously, that the output of consumer goods has been expanding. There has been no general wage increase since 1947, but most workers have been gradually shifted to a piece-rate basis,



and it is claimed that this has increased their incomes.

According to Soviet economists, the policy of reducing consumer prices annually has resulted in an average drop of about 50 per cent from prices paid for similar goods in the fall of 1947 in commercial stores, but not from prices of rationed commodities available at that time in state retail stores. Nevertheless, according to the former Minister of Trade, A. Mikoyan, average wages of industrial workers and employees had doubled in 1954 over 1940, while prices of food and consumer goods were on the average only 14 and 27 per cent higher, respectively.

In the Soviet budget current expenditures are usually fully covered by the yield from taxation and by other receipts. There is no evidence that any credit has been created by the banking system since 1947 to finance industrialization. If such a careful financial policy had not been pursued, it would scarcely have been possible to decree repeated price reductions—there have been seven since 1947—on goods and services. The policy applied in the Soviet Union since 1947 has been in conformity with a principle advocated for years by Western economists—namely, that an increase in output without a comparable increase in costs of production should be reflected in a gradual lowering of prices.

Though these policies may have improved living conditions in Russia since the end of the war, the average citizen's real income has increased little if at all since industrialization began in 1928. An exhaustive study of the subject by Solomon M. Schwartz in "Labor in the Soviet Union" (1952) makes this plain. A study entitled "Purchasing Power of Soviet Workers, 1953," published by the United States Department of Labor, indicates that real earnings of the Soviet worker were actually lower in 1953 than in 1928. In the May, 1954, issue of the *Review of Economics and Statistics* an interesting study of real wages in the Soviet Union, 1928-52, by Janet G. Chapman, reaches a similar conclusion.

WHEN Malenkov came to power, the hopes of Soviet consumers rose. In all his speeches Malenkov insisted that the government's primary objective was to improve the people's standard of living. In October, 1953, Minister of Trade Mikoyan promised a bright future for Soviet housewives, with more of everything from sausages to automobiles. He disclosed plans for increasing the supply of meat and butter, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and refrigerators, radios and television sets, bicycles, and so on. He also said that the Soviets were willing to purchase consumer goods abroad. Of the four billion rubles' worth of consumer goods purchased abroad in 1953, two-thirds came from the satellite countries. (The nominal value of the Soviet ruble is 25 cents; in terms of purchasing power it is between 5 and 7 cents, according to estimates made in this country.)

Despite the "new look" proclaimed by Premier Malenkov, however, an official Soviet Report on Plan Fulfilment published in *Pravda* on January 31, 1954, showed little basic change in production targets. In 1953, as in the preceding years of the Stalin regime, heavy industry increased output more rapidly than consumer-goods industries. Production of consumers' goods was 104 per cent and of food 100.5 per cent of the amounts set in the annual plan. Light industries developed at a faster rate than in 1952. Greater amounts of silk, woolen, and linen fabrics, cotton thread and fabrics, knitted underwear, hosiery, matches, soap, and other consumers' goods were produced than were demanded by the plan. The report also noted a considerable expansion in the volume of retail trade. Much of this increase in trade, Mikoyan explained

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in an address to the Supreme Soviet, could be accounted for by the fact that "at the beginning of 1953 the trade network had a tremendous quantity of goods above plan left on hand." There was apparently no improvement in grain production. According to the report, "the actual grain harvest in 1953 was close to that of 1952." In 1952 the Soviets claimed a production of 130,000,000 metric tons. This could probably be somewhat increased in the next few years by the cultivation of more marginal land and the use of more fertilizer, but it is not likely that 180,000,000 tons, an increase of 38 per cent, can be attained by 1955, as called for by the fifth Five-Year Plan.

The Plan-Fulfilment Report does not tell us to what extent the production of consumers' goods was expanded by Malenkov. The promises of his regime dealt chiefly with the near future—that is, with the expansion of consumer-goods output in the next few years; present consumption was discussed only in the most general terms. A careful reading of the Soviet decrees giving the production targets for consumers' goods and food crops indicates rather clearly that the Soviet authorities were particularly desirous of increasing the supply of those consumers' goods which were wanted by the upper crust of Soviet society—the Communist Party hierarchy and the economic administrators.

OF COURSE the problem of raising the standard of living of a population of some 210,000,000 is of great magnitude and complexity. Russia's chief need seems to be to expand agricultural output so as to provide more bread, cereals, meats, butter, and milk. It is here that the Soviet planned economy has been least successful, as Khrushchev disclosed in his candid survey of Soviet agriculture referred to above. "The Survey of Europe in 1953," prepared by a staff of economists of the United Nations, concluded that "in the Soviet Union, in spite of the large expansion of industry during the last twenty-five years, about half the population is engaged in agriculture and the surplus produced is insufficient to permit the rapidly increasing urban population to enjoy food standards comparable to those in the industrialized countries of Northwestern Europe."

It would seem obvious therefore that in order to accelerate the process of change from acute scarcity to a relative abundance of food products and consumer goods the Soviet Union will either have to import much larger quantities of these commodities from the West or greatly increase agricultural production, as Khrushchev has promised to do. On the question of the Soviet importation of consumers' goods it is worth while to recall the testimony of Kenneth R. Hansen, assistant deputy director of Mutual Defense Control, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as reported by the New York *Times* of March 14, 1954:

> During the last seven months, approximately, the principal U. S. S. R. commitments to buy consumer goods in the West for delivery in fiscal 1954 are estimated as follows: Butter, approximately $4,000,000; lard, $2,300,000; cheese, $3,700,000; herring, $15,000,000; meat, $21,000,000; sugar, $1,400,000; citrus fruit, $6,900,000; textiles, $28,000,000. . . .
>
> The importance of such purchases in raising the domestic consumption level is extremely slight. It is one of the basic lessons to be drawn from these figures. Imports from the West in 1952 were less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of Soviet consumption. So large percentage changes in imports of consumer goods really have insignificant effects in comparison with the basic development of requirements within the Soviet bloc.

It would appear that the Malenkov regime, despite its professed policy, actually did not accomplish much for the Russian consumer. The new regime's overt change-over to a "heavy industry first" policy, therefore, is not likely to leave him much worse off than he was before.

THE ABORTION RACKET

Product of Laggard Law . . . *by Edwin M. Schur*

DESPITE abortion's skyrocketing death rate, any talk about it is hushed up, and the law remains powerless to curtail the activities of the professional abortionist. Dr. Frederick Taussig, famous gynecologist, in his 1935 study estimated that there were 681,000 abortions annually in the United States, of which about 60 per cent were illegal. A few years ago the chief medical examiner of Maryland, making what he considered a conservative estimate, held there were 1,000,000 a year, of which 30 per cent were illegal. Other recent studies assess the number at between 300,000 and 400,000 a year.

Laws against abortion are supposed to curb immorality among the young, but statistics show that the majority of abortion-seeking women are married and that many are already mothers. Another mistaken idea is that few Roman Catholic women seek abortion. Actually women of all religions resort to it.

None of the methods of inducing abortion are absolutely reliable and few are safe. Unless an operation is performed by a skilled practitioner, in the sanitary surroundings only

EDWIN M. SCHUR is a student at Yale Law School, where his study of the abortion problem, on which this article was based, was awarded the first annual Felix S. Cohen prize in legal philosophy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

available in hospitals, the dangers are manifold. Thousands of American women die every year as a result of abortions and abortion attempts —estimates range from 3,000 to 8,000. If death does not occur, there is a strong possibility of partial or complete sterility, endocrine disorders, menstrual disturbances, or psychic maladjustment. These shocking results need be expected only when the operation is performed covertly by unskilled persons, without modern scientific equipment, but with the legal situation what it is, most abortions inevitably are attempted under these conditions.

While a properly conducted abortion is unlikely to be followed by serious complications, some controversy on this point has been aroused by the reported results of the 1920-36 Soviet experiment in "legalized" abortion. There is no doubt that primary abortion mortality in Russia decreased tremendously, but according to Taussig there was "a marked deterioration of the physical condition of the aborted woman." This may have been true of Russian operations in the 1920's, usually done without anesthesia, but there is little reason to fear such consequences in the United States three decades later, in view of our advanced antibiotic therapy and sanitary hospital conditions. It is interesting, therefore, that the *idea* that abortion under proper circumstances may be relatively harmless has been allowed so little publicity. An emotional resistance to change and a misconception of the ethical problems involved are responsible, not the dictates of sound medicine.

The law has shut its eyes to these facts. Fifteen years ago B. B. Tolnai wrote in *The Nation* that "the foolishness of abortion laws in this country amounts to a tradition." The tradition still flourishes today. Tolnai went on to say that "the result of existing legislation is an anarchy of extra-legal practice, opening up bonanzas of graft to crooked lawyers, politicians, and doctors." The anarchy and the bonanzas persist. The present legal status of abortion in this country can be summed up in one sentence: abortion is illegal unless necessary to preserve the life of the mother. Not all states have such laws, but the large majority do. "Necessity" as the *sine qua non* of a legal abortion puts the doctor in a perilous position. He cannot know for certain that without an operation the woman will die. Even if consultation with other physicians confirms his decision, he may not be able to support it in court.

THE rigidity of American law is pointed up by the decision of an English court in the well-known case of Rex versus Bourne (1939). A fifteen-year-old girl became pregnant as a result of forcible rape. Bourne, an eminent physician, performed the operation openly in a London hospital, asking no fee. Charged with "unlawfully" procuring an abortion, he was acquitted. The judge stated that when the doctor on reasonable grounds believes the pregnancy will make the woman "a physical or mental wreck" he is entitled to perform the abortion. In most American states neither rape nor incest constitutes justification for abortion, and no humanitarian, social, or economic factor is taken into consideration.

This rigidity, coupled with the persistent demand for abortion, has led to a scoffing disregard of the law. Prosecutions are few, and the conviction rate is extremely low. Of abortionists who are convicted, a great many receive suspended sentences. Taking away a doctor's license, as is done in many states, is an ineffective sanction: an abortionist needs no credentials to attract clients. In big cities an abortion practice is highly lucrative; often it is elaborately organized. District Attorney Frank Hogan of New York, in his report for 1946-48, noted an "enterprise" conducted by two women, neither licensed to practice, who used a "palatial private residence on Fifth Avenue" as a front:

> The conspirators [said the report] had a complicated code system for telephone conversations. Payments were "packages." "Six pairs of nylons" or "eight pairs of nylons" meant that the patient was six to eight weeks pregnant. Information concerning a patient's financial status was imparted by terms such as "special delivery," which indicated ability to pay double the usual fee, or "parcel post," meaning a moderate increase over the usual charge.

The professional abortionist can be demanding without fear of disclosure and may force his patients to beg, borrow, and steal in order to pay him. One hears of cases in which the "doctor" indulges his sexual whims, threatening not to perform the abortion if he is resisted. Hypercautious, the abortionist keeps his equipment at a minimum and as portable as possible. He works through "contacts," and his records, if they exist at all, are in code or scrupulously hidden. It must be recognized, however, that he provides the only facilities for meeting a social need. He exists because the public lets him. Public opinion for the most part is not against the practice of abortion.

Where regarded as necessary to save the mother's life abortion is generally called "therapeutic." Recently hospitals have permitted fewer and fewer of these operations. For one thing, many conditions which used to be detrimental to the continuance of a pregnancy are now handled without danger. For another, uncertainty fostered by the law has led hospitals and individual doctors to avoid going out on a limb. If the mother contracts german measles (rubella) before the twelfth week of pregnancy, there is at least a 30 per cent chance that the child will be born with a congenital abnormality. But since the mother's life is not in danger, the operation is clearly illegal. The increase of abortions for psychiatric reasons has not offset the decline in those for physiological reasons.

Since there is no reason to assume a decline in the demand for abortion, the reluctance of hospitals

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and reputable doctors to perform them can only lead to an increase in clandestine operations and a consequent rise in mortality. It would be realistic to loosen rather than tighten restrictions. Under Swedish law today abortions are permitted on eugenic, social, and humanitarian, as well as purely medical, grounds. This statute, together with an active information program, has caused a large drop in abortion deaths and the continuation of many pregnancies that women had planned to interrupt.

IN THE United States the strong moral feeling against abortions helps keep ineffectual laws on the statutes. It is asserted that killing the fetus contradicts the basic sexual function of woman; in destroying the unborn child, woman denies her own "maternal instinct." Few modern scientists accept this view 100 per cent, but several recent studies have stressed the fundamental significance of pregnancy for the woman. Ashley Montagu sees in woman's ability to conceive and bear children the source of her "natural superiority" over men. Lundberg and Farnham, in "Modern Woman, the Lost Sex," claim that woman's role can be completed only through motherhood. Other writers believe that in most women maternal feelings are the result of social conditioning and as such exist in varying degrees in different persons. They argue, too, that the maternal instinct, even if latent at all times, is relatively inactive in the early stages of pregnancy, developing gradually and coming to its full strength only after the child is born. But the instinct theory retains its force: since abortion thwarts woman's "nature" it must be wrong.

The undesirable psychological after-effects suffered by many aborted women have been cited in support of this argument. For few women is an abortion an unimportant incident; often it constitutes a severe psychic trauma. Helene Deutsch says that "at bottom there is hardly a woman who reacts to it with complete realism even where the rationalization is the best possible one." Yet it can be argued that the guilt reaction is due largely to society's opposition. Can we not say in all truthfulness that the fact that abortion is "illegal" may be the major cause of these reactions? Probably a woman's views are seldom so advanced that she is completely immune to society's condemnation. Simone de Beauvoir puts it very well, I think, when she refers to torment "by useless scruples."

The "instinct" premise is reinforced by the traditional view of woman's role in our society. Most abortion laws are man-made, and women have not been given many opportunities to express themselves on the subject. Taussig cites two questionnaires sent out in the 1930's —one to members of a Danish women's organization, the other to graduate women physicians in Germany. In each group a majority believed abortions should be permitted when socio-economic factors made them advisable. A similar result might be expected in a poll of American women today if the veil of shyness on the subject were pierced. The feminist goal will never be reached until woman has achieved social sanction for the right to decide when she shall have children. With abortion laws as they are today, the American woman is not free to make this decision. The high demand for abortion shows that women want freedom in this regard.

A HIGHLY irrational system of sex ethics gives further support to our present abortion policy. Ours is certainly a sex-conscious society. All our mass media play up sex. It is the inarticulate basis of almost all our advertising. Even comic books exploit sex in its rawest aspects. However, our social conventions insist that sex is wrong. A good example is the motion-picture industry's production code. Another is the widespread custom of calling jokes about sex "dirty" jokes. Though in practice the "double standard" is losing its power, it still affects our thinking. For example, 44 per cent of the women interviewed by Kinsey listed "fear of public opinion" as a factor which had restricted their pre-marital sex relations; 89 per cent said that "moral considerations" had been of primary importance. Abortion, representing sex without procreation and often sex without marriage, still carries a harsh stigma.

The Roman Catholic church has

led the fight against abortion reform. Refusing to distinguish between various forms or stages of life, the church claims abortion is immoral because it violates the Commandment "Thou Shalt Not Kill" and is in conflict with the doctrine that when death occurs without baptism the soul is damned. Under canon law abortion is ground for excommunication no matter what the reason may have been. The voice of the church is greatly strengthened by the unprotesting attitude of the general public. Lawyers blame doctors for causing the abortion problem, doctors in turn blame lawyers, but the real impediment to progress is public indifference. The average citizen spends little time thinking what should be done about abortions, though his wife or sister or daughter may some day need one.

Public opinion, once aroused, could force a change. Legislators cannot ignore a categorical demand of the voters. Completely legalized abortion would probably be the best solution; the sooner we abolish the idea that abortion is a "crime" the better. But even to establish social-economic or psychological conditions as legal grounds for abortion would be a tremendous step forward. While the use of a simple, fully dependable contraceptive could to a great extent solve the abortion problem, it may be a long time before such a method, even if permitted by law, becomes generally available. Meanwhile unlawful abortion continues to flourish, with all its ill effects on the female population. Its continued cost in death and injury must not be tolerated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Lippmann on Democracy

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY. By Walter Lippmann. Atlantic Monthly Press—Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

By Max Freedman

FEW things would be easier than to caricature this book and make out that Walter Lipmann is an enemy of the democratic tradition. He has laid himself open to this charge by his drumbeat of criticism against the weakness of representative institutions. It is more profitable, however, to take Mr. Lippmann at his own valuation. Very early in his argument he tries to shield himself against misunderstanding by saying, "I am a liberal democrat and have no wish to disenfranchise my fellow citizens. My hope is that both liberty and democracy can be preserved before the one destroys the other." What is the basis of his concern and his indictment?

Mr. Lipmann believes that "the movement of opinion is slower than the movement of events." Except at rare moments of national vision or when the nation is lifted above itself by the challenge of war, public opinion will impose a veto, massive or capricious, on the bold design and the long view. Few politicians dare to confront this whiplash of prejudice. National policy, as a result, is clouded by the wretched compromises struck out by a blundering electorate and a craven executive. A good example would be America's policy toward Communist China.

Fundamental to this argument is the distinction between "the opinion of *the people* as voters" and "the interests of *the people* as an historic community." Mr. Lippmann adds that "the voters cannot be relied upon to represent *the people*. The opinions of voters in elections are not to be accepted unquestioningly as true judgments of the vital interests of the community."

MAX FREEDMAN is The Nation's *Washington correspondent.*

Now what does this mean? In 1932 the voters issued a mandate, beyond all doubt, that they would suffer the Hoover philosophy no longer. In 1940 both Roosevelt and Willkie discussed the war issue with less than candor, and the verdict in that campaign hardly qualified as a guide to national policy. In 1952 the power of a personal legend eclipsed all argument, and Mr. Stevenson learned that an epigram is a poor antagonist of a beatitude. Sometimes an election embodies the mature convictions of the nation; often it merely expresses transient emotions or crowns a temporary hero. All this is a truism that did not require Mr. Lippmann's gift for lucid exposition.

His condemnation of the democratic process, in fact, goes much deeper than a criticism of elections. He thinks of the nation, in Burke's sense, as a communion between the past and the future, with no group of voters having the right, even though they often exercise the power, to represent their decisions as the settled wisdom of the corporate tradition. Here we come to the root of his analysis. If he has to choose, Mr. Lippmann prefers the judgment of executive officials to the decree of public opinion or the action of Congress. He sees the executive, by its function if not by its performance, set above the vagaries of changing opinion. To him the executive, when true to itself, becomes a repository of national tradition and national purpose. His eulogy of monarchies, of the anointment of a king and even of the solemn consecration of the pope, are mere picturesque embellishments of his central theme: the people should trust their destiny to the expert, the courageous servant of the public good, the disinterested guardian of the national welfare. "Though it is not too well recognized," says Mr. Lippmann, "there is a radical difference between the election of an executive and the election of a representative. For while the executive is in honor bound not to consider himself as the agent of his electors, the representative is expected to be, within the limits of reason and the general public interest, their agent.

Who would wish to quarrel, as a theory, with this echo of Plato's wisdom? Yet what does it mean in the practical life of Washington today? Mr. Lippmann, it should be noted, does not elevate the executive simply in matters of defense policy and foreign affairs. The inadequacy of the democratic process covers the entire range of public policy.

AT THIS point a few test questions cannot be avoided. Is the opinion of Secretary Weeks on the national economy always to take precedence over Senator Douglas's? By what proof of wisdom is Admiral Strauss's judgment on the Dixon-Yates contract automatically to be preferred to the dissenting verdict of Senator Anderson? Why should Secretary Mitchell's views on labor receive more respect than Senator Morse's? Applied with full rigor, Mr. Lippmann's theory would endow President Eisenhower's policies with an authority that would almost compel the swift assent of Congress. But he protects himself from this pitfall by arguing, repeatedly, that the executive no less than the legislature is adrift on a tide of events beyond its comprehension or control.

It is a pity that Mr. Lippmann, who admires Burke, failed to remember the wisdom of this passage which would have saved his argument from some of its disturbing overtones and put it in a more creative framework:

> I am not one of those [Burke confessed] who think that the people are never in the wrong. They have been so, frequently and outrageously, both in other countries and in this. But I do say that in all disputes between them and their rulers the presumption is at least upon a par in favor of the people. Experience may perhaps justify me in going farther. . . . The people have no interest in disorder. When they do wrong it is their error and not their crime. But with the governing part of the state it is far otherwise. They certainly may act ill by design, as well as by mistake. . . . If this presumption in favor of the subjects against the trustees of power be not the more probable, I am sure it is the more comfortable speculation; because it is more easy to change an administration than to reform a people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not until one has read more than half the book does one discover, at page 101, what Mr. Lippmann means by the public philosophy. "I believe," says Mr. Lippmann, "there is a public philosophy. Indeed, there is such a thing as the public philosophy of civility. It does not have to be discovered or invented. It is known. But it does have to be revived and renewed. The public philosophy is known as *natural law*, a name which, alas, causes great semantic confusion."

Somehow, after all this criticism, one expected something more. Natural law has an eminent history and many noble names among its accredited apostles. Yet it is rather late to believe that what Mr. Lippmann calls "the malady of democratic government" can be cured by a return to natural law, a doctrine which is itself the subject of controversy and therefore hardly the best means of rediscovering the moral and intellectual unity from which the democratic community should derive its vigor and sense of purpose. Besides, in the world of politics as distinct from the world of theory, natural law has almost always been used as a bludgeon to fling at a tyrant. Mr. Lippmann might be surprised, as well as disappointed, by the uses to which the people would put the doctrines of natural law, once they savored their full meaning.

There are some shrewd and salutary criticisms of democracy in this book. One wishes, however, that Mr. Lippmann had expressed with greater clarity and vigor his undoubted faith in the high lineage of freedom. This is not the great book of distilled wisdom on the ultimate problems of political organization and human destiny for which we have been waiting. But it will stir more thought than most books ten times its size.

"Romantic" Image of the Self

THE OPPOSING SELF. Nine Essays in Criticism. By Lionel Trilling. The Viking Press. $3.50.

By Perry Miller

IT has long since become a habit for admirers of Lionel Trilling to insist that though he is a professor, we need not be put off by the fact, because he writes like a critic. I suspect the time has come when they should more stoutly insist that though he is a critic, we be not put off by *that* fact, because he writes like a scholar.

Seven of the essays collected in this volume were written as introductions to reprints of the books discussed; the other two were occasional addresses. The volume may seem merely a compilation of disparate assignments, but Mr. Trilling, rather charmingly to his own surprise, finds that in the end these chores exhibit an interconnecting theme—"the idea of the self." Recognizing that his conception of the self "emerged" only at the end of the eighteenth century, Mr. Trilling takes the leap of describing his book as concerned with the "romantic" image of the self, and so brings the fatal adjective to bear on certain figures resolutely prized in these days by the anti-romantics—Jane Austen, William Dean Howells, and Henry James.

Thus Mr. Trilling dares to bring scholarship into criticism; therefore he is one of the few critics in this county who can write limpidly, humanely, undogmatically about any and every book that interests him, and who can be interested in any and every kind. While he takes care not to confuse the effects of a book upon himself with the book itself, he is not afraid to entertain relativity; he boldly sets forth a writer's intention, unperturbed by the cry of "fallacy!" So he is constantly instructive, eminently readable, always refreshing.

This is not to say that he will escape the charge of seeking in literature for an element of redemption. Readers less wary than he may find him insidiously leading them back to didacticism. Mr. Trilling moves gingerly around Matthew Arnold's definition of literature as a criticism of life, fully aware of how ferociously the Eliotians have pounced upon it; yet he will craftily

PERRY MILLER, professor of American literature at Harvard, is the author of "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province."

A BORZOI BOOK

Will rekindle your faith in the American way

HOW WE DRAFTED ADLAI STEVENSON

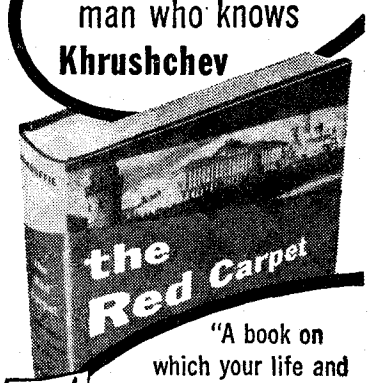
by WALTER JOHNSON

This is a unique record of a unique Presidential convention. It is the exciting inside story of the 1952 Democratic National Convention, by the co-chairman of the Draft Stevenson Committee, and is a record of what occurred, how it occurred, and why.

$2.75 at your bookstore

ALFRED A. KNOPF
Publisher

The book by the man who knows Khrushchev



"A book on which your life and mine may now depend." —N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun

2nd printing

THE RED CARPET

10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV

By MARSHALL MacDUFFIE

77 Illus. $4.50 at bookstores

NORTON

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

avoid throwing his hero to New Critical wolves. Out of Arnold he extracts, not without a bit of legerdemain, the proposition that our culture is hostile to surprise and elevation because it is hostile to the ideal of the free self, but that the great literature of the last two centuries has asserted that freedom by doggedly making the unconscious portion of the culture accessible to conscious thought. In this complicated sense James and Howells, along with Keats, Wordsworth, Tolstoi, Dickens, exhibit a "romantic" image of the self—the self in opposition.

I TAKE it that fundamentally Mr. Trilling, with all his rich delight in writing as writing, also feels driven —or indeed is unrepentantly eager— to use the great literature as a weapon against what we call the dominant anti-intellectualism of this age. One can hardly censure the intention (perhaps it is *I* who commit the fallacy!) as long as Mr. Trilling remains fully aware of the distinction. Certainly the two purposes, the appreciative and the hortatory, are simultaneously accomplished in, for example, his subtle analysis of the complex components of that quality in John Keats which Shaw named "geniality."

Maybe only the fortuitous requests of publishers resulted in this sequence of studies, but it is amusing —to speak of opposition—to note that Mr. Trilling takes a positive joy in picking up and defending slightly unpopular causes. With numbers of the bright young men of today it is uphill work to get any serious consideration for Dickens at all, but Mr. Trilling elects to proselytize for "Little Dorrit"; out of Henry James, he pleads the cause of "The Bostonians"; he opens his argument for Wordsworth with an admission that outside the universities Wordsworth is scarcely known; he challenges attention for the most difficult of Flaubert, for "Bouvard et Pecuchet"; he champions "Mansfield Park" even while acknowledging that for most partisans of the Divine Jane it is an embarrassment; and he actually has the temerity to find value in a Howells whom so much of so-called criticism disdains.

I can do nothing but admire this advocacy of literary underdogs. However, it has one unfortunate result for Mr. Trilling's prose. He must forever be explaining that "we" are different: "we" love the rare and strange, "we" are not responsive to the common, "we" cherish the beast whom "we" admire in literature, and "we" all know that Plato is wrong. Wordsworth is separated from "us"; "our hyperaesthesia" is a preference for the apocalyptic subject, and "we" appreciate Milton only if "we" believe him of the devil's party. Many of these essays, although written as introductions, also appeared in journals with which some of us have imperfect sympathies. I for one am sometimes uncomfortable at being so cavalierly included in Mr. Trilling's "we."

Still, this may be caviling. Mr. Trilling is enormously sensitive to the anxieties of this age, never less than when he generalizes thus: "The characteristic error of the middle-class intellectual of modern times is his tendency of abstractness and absoluteness, his reluctance to connect idea with fact, especially with personal fact." Possibly we are reduced to making an abstraction out of "we" in order to explain our relation to such highly personal facts as Keats's geniality. As to whether all Mr. Trilling's readers will agree as to precisely which intellectuals of today most often fall into the error of abstraction, I doubt. Nevertheless, he is doing all of us a great service in so convincingly presenting Keats, not as a trembling particle slain by an article, but as an image of spiritual and moral health. He is on solid ground indeed when he concludes that this image we cannot now attain by wishing, but that "we cannot attain it without wishing for it, and clearly imagining it."

Satire Through Mimicry

THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR. By Ring Lardner, Jr. Cameron and Kahn. $3.

By Stanley Cooperman

WIELDING the rapier of satire, Ring Lardner, Jr., in "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir," makes shambles of rigid Catholic dogma, political stuffed-shirtism, and moral doublethink. His formidable combination of sophistication with outrageous mimicry has enabled him to create a modern "Candide," a frankly opinionated satire that will amuse all but the most inflexible.

Lardner's earnest young hero is a hapless herring in a sea of ideological sharks. Invincibly doing the wrong thing for the right reasons, he circles about the various moral whirlpools represented by pacifism, capitalism, socialism, liberalism, and fascism, to come to rest at last in the calm of the "true church." During this process he insists on following all rationalizations to their logical end, much to the discomfort of those around him. Muir finally becomes that most exasperating of individuals—the man who is so thoroughly convinced that he is a living reproach to those who helped form his opinion in the first place.

"The Ecstasy of Owen Muir," however, is not primarily a portrait of Muir. Like Voltaire, that old master of satire, Lardner uses his central character as a catalyst while taking pot shots at a variety of targets. Also like Voltaire, he knows enough about the material he is satirizing to produce wit rather than a simple indictment; he impales his opponents upon their own weapons by absorbing the logic of their argument.

The flaw in "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir" is that Lardner limits his attack; there are areas of extreme political and social thought equally open to satire which he approaches too gingerly. When Lardner is on target, however, there is no stopping the man. He gives us unforgettable portraits of the famous churchman busily scheduling conversions between television shows, the generous liberal, the righteous business man, and many other familiar types.

Lardner owes a great deal of his effectiveness to the accuracy of his ear; the manner as well as matter of conversation and argument is

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a free-lance literary critic with a special interest in modern fiction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recorded with precision. The most incisive parts of his book are those in which his individuals speak for themselves and there is no intrusive moralization. The very pitch and tone of voices become rapid and colloquial, oily and pontifical, or otherwise characteristic.

Like the work of any successful satirist, Lardner's prose defies paraphrase. Take his father's expression of outrage when Owen Muir becomes a pacifist during World War II:

> A stunt like this could kill a job I've got lined up in Washington.... It's one of those dollar-a-year things that if I played it right I could make enough to retire on.

Or this rationale of Hitler's defense against Jewish aggression:

> Any Jew who knew Hitler's attitude toward them would have had to be insane not to be against him. So you could pick them out at random and be sure you had either a hopeless imbecile or an enemy of the state. And whichever it turned out to be, you couldn't let them run around loose.

There's a great deal more where that came from, for Ring Lardner, Jr., has produced what is easily the best satire to appear in several years.

Books in Brief

Major Prize for Minor Novel

TRIAL. By Don M. Mankiewicz. Harper. $3.50.

Don Mankiewicz's new novel, winner of the Harper award, is a streamlined bulldozer of a book, driving relentlessly at and over vitally important aspects of life in the present-day United States. Race prejudice, legal chicanery, hopeful (and often hapless) liberalism, and political opportunism are introduced in "Trial," and introduced with considerable effect.

Mankiewicz spreads his fire in many directions. He does not limit himself to a brief but vivid satire on McCarthyism; he lashes out at the Machiavellis at the other end of the political spectrum who attempt to capitalize on social trouble, using it as the raw material for their very existence. Mankiewicz makes both attacks ring true because he knows his way around among the manipulators of power.

The $10,000 Harper award is a

CAN THE CHURCH LIVE ON HALF THE GOSPEL?

Social justice and individual righteousness are both emphasized in the gospel of the Bible. But for some mysterious reason, the social-justice phase was abandoned when the doctrine of One God began to spread beyond the frontiers of Palestine. In other words, the God of Social Justice was put out of the church picture by the God of Righteousness, who employed all the apparatus of dogmatic theology in pursuit of the individual sinner.

The war between social justice and personal righteousness is exemplified in the ancient church by two ecclesiastical figures, both of them Bishops. The first was the Bishop of Constantinople. He was a disciple of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. This Bishop vigorously denounced the political and economic conditions in Constantinople. He refused to make full use of the episcopal palace, and occupied only a small corner of it. The result was that his clergy drove him out of Constantinople into the country, where he died a martyr. This man is known in Church History as ST. CHRYSOSTOM. His real character has been thrust into the background; and he has been played up simply as a writer of hymns.

The other figure was the Bishop of Hippo, who knew all about Righteousness, but nothing about Social Justice. This man reduced theology to written form, and is known to Church History as ST. AUGUSTINE. His theology is at the basis of church doctrine, Protestant and Catholic. He helped to banish the God of Social Justice; and he promoted the enthronement of the stern, aristocratic God of Righteousness, who became normal in ecclesiastical tradition, and who is perfectly "safe" in the realm of Things As They Are.

Righteousness long ago succeeded in putting Social Justice into the category of "worldly matters." But today there is revolt against this impious tendency. The Papal Chair, in particular, has been re-defining Doctrine so as to emphasize Social Justice while rghtly excludng socialism and communism. The laity — Protestant and Catholic — can be counted upon to support sane reform which avoids atheism and Marxism. "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God" is the title of a new circular which will be sent to you free upon receipt of a three cent stamp to cover mailing cost. Your name and address should be clearly written, or better printed. There has been some difficulty about this; and some circulars have gone astray. Always put your return home, or office, address on the outside of envelope. Most persons requesting the circular are careful to send the stamp. When no stamp is sent, no circular is forwarded. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major prize, and it would be encouraging to think it went to a major work of fiction. "Trial," however, is nothing of the sort. It is a polished and highly readable potboiler that hurtles along the surface of its material, making some sharp observations on basic social problems. It has moments of suspense, a constant nervous energy, and several portraits drawn boldly in unrelieved black and white. But the characters are completely without perceptible motivation.

Realism in Depth

OUT WENT THE CANDLE. By Harvey Swados. Viking. $3.95.

Through the use of varying points of view and monologue Harvey Swados succeeds in placing the details of realistic observation within a frame of relative value and nuance. Because of this sensitized observation "Out Went the Candle" bursts into moments of real power. Swados makes a word, a touch, a look, an incident in a crowded and sweaty train, transcend itself even while presenting the scene in meticulous detail. The result is realism which, at its best, plunges beneath the surface of events.

There are, however, serious defects in the novel. Swados explores particular action and event in considerable depth, only to fall back upon such a thin device as letter-writing for continuity which should be implicit. And he spells out the symbolic overtones of action through conversations which make the last section of his book almost an addendum. This seriously damages the structure, which alone should channel meaning to the reader.

Swados's treatment of value is of central interest. His most effective characters are individuals who confront a valueless universe and attempt to challenge this lack of value through a deliberate cultivation of "experience" or power. The individuals who do bring a semblance of value to their experience emerge as mechanisms, little more than catalysts for the progress of the book. The search for "experience," however, is itself impotent; the 1920 thrust of rebellion is dead. Betsy, the neurotic young female, is a 1940-50 flapper basically unable to experience anything at all. She feels no shock at losing values; the values never existed. Her very attempt to revolt is sterile because there is nothing, no actual substance, to revolt against.

Another familiar element is the tormented sex role of the female. Betsy takes revenge on her father, or the fate which made her a woman, every time she goes to bed with a man, glorying in "degradation." Like many contemporary authors, Swados seems to insist on reducing the female sex drive to a psychological purge. This trend may be, in its own right, a fruitful problem for the psychiatric literary detectives.

Life Among the A-Scientists

THE NEW MEN. By C. P. Snow. Scribner's. $3.50.

The English novelist C. P. Snow is fascinated by the interplay of power and personality, the quiet struggle which engages many modern professional men. American readers will remember his last novel as an exegesis of faculty politics on an English campus. This new volume in the "Lewis Eliot" series, while equally specialized, illuminates an area of more vital concern. The "new men" are the atomic scientists who, often in the face of their own convictions, have created new resources for total obliteration of the world.

Knowing the anomalous position of atomic scientists, the mystery and fear surrounding every aspect of their lives, a reader may well be startled by Mr. Snow's unimpassioned approach. His characters, even while shaping the future of humanity, are motivated by petty jealousies and ambitions as well as by the higher emotion of patriotism. They react as individuals to the enormous moral challenge of their position, showing none of the facile uniformity which military and political bureaucrats demand as a matter of course.

C. P. Snow brings his audience close to the basic paradox of the age: the attempt to achieve creative freedom through maximum security, to protect human life by the utilization of megadeath. Although he is concerned with the paradox itself rather than with any fixed solution, the sharpness of his writing will stimulate the thinking of all but those fortunate persons who have already arrived at solutions of their own.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE noisy Broadway attractions as this is written offer Jane Russell swimming, Esther Williams swimming *and* diverting Hannibal the Great, and Broderick Crawford exchanging shots with Richard Conte in the confidential New York underworld. They are all guaranteed to be brand-new pictures; otherwise I would swear they had been running without a break since the Hylan administration. Aside from these monuments to formula, the current bill provides mainly an assortment of British trivia.

The most trivial and most entertaining of the lot is "Doctor in the House," made by the group that produced "Genevieve." Medical students are notoriously an impish breed and this picture exploits their naughtiness right up to the point of tedium. Laboratory equipment explodes, a skeleton falls out of a paper parcel in a crowded bus, a girl is discovered in the wrong bathtub, a reveler falls through a skylight on to a matron's bed, an ambulance is filched, the dean waxes wroth, the great surgeon is understanding, and our heroes graduate in defiance of all probability. "Doctor in the House" is short on wit and novelty; it survives by infectious good humor, speed, bright dialogue—sometimes bright to archness—and the relaxed modesty of its intentions. The leads are played by Dick Bogarde, Kenneth More, Muriel Pavlov, and Kay Kendall; their picture is a pleasant refuge for a rainy afternoon.

"THE STRANGER'S HAND" was written by Graham Greene, acted by Trevor Howard, Alida Valli, Richard Basehart, and Eduardo Cianelli, set in Venice, and buttressed with the topicality of Communist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

villainy. A little English boy has failed to meet his father, an unfrocked doctor parrots Spengler and injects some brain-poisoning horror into his charges, a rough and ready American treats the hidden enemy to a taste of Yankee enterprise, the Venice fire department roars out in speed boats to the rescue—the ingredients for an excruciating thriller are here, but the effect is dispirited and second-rate. There is no real mystery, no real tension, no fresh twist to the craft of Ambler and Buchan and Greene himself. The camera work is incurious, the sound track is blurred, the direction is sloppy, the plot is implausible, and the attempt to use Communists as villains without being rude to Russia—references are made only to "them," "that country," "a ship of that nationality"—are enough to make you snort. The English make the world's best thrillers; a dull one seems a breach of faith.

"THE NAKED HEART" is a British movie made in Canada by the French director Marc Allegret, with a French and English cast. It is a melancholy romance based on "Maria Chapdelaine," a once-celebrated novel which ladies of a certain age read in an atmosphere of negligees, bon-bons, and moist cambric. M. Allegret has directed the piece with vigor, and he has been given the excellent talents of Michele Morgan, Kieron Moore, and Francoise Rosay to work with, but he is defeated by the dated pathos of the story. I cannot recall another picture—or novel, either—in which the characters are so unanimously disposed to stubborn misery.

"THE INTRUDER," a filming of Robin Maugham's small novel, "Line on Ginger," is routine Rank, with Jack Hawkins in the lead. It tells how a former British tank officer retraces the steps that have led one of his best soldiers into the position of a nasty cornered criminal. The yarn is a verbose and maudlin chain of depressing coincidence, leading up to the moral that the most desperate social outcast can be reformed if he is sufficiently patronized by a member of the upper class. . . . One learns from "The Long Gray Line" that West Point is a venerable military school with an excellent view of the Hudson and operated primarily on Irish whimsicality, the fortitude of women, and manly tears. This must be a distorted picture of the place, and therefore I do not recommend the film except for its technicolor vistas and the spectacular way in which Tyrone Power ages fifty years in two hours. Power plays a faithful sergeant, a sort of human mascot for generations of the "Corps." Since the film is said to be based on the life of a real man—who was probably a dignified member of the West Point community—it is a little offensive, though I am sure no offense was meant by John Ford, the director, or his collaborators on this mock epic. Men dedicated to supplying "what the public wants" become indelicate quite unwittingly.

Records

B. H. Haggin

REMEMBERING Yves Nat's fine performances of Schumann and Chopin I listened to his performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 111 on Haydn Society 110 with expectation not unmixed with apprehension; and therefore heard with relief as well as satisfaction the playing, in the introduction of the first movement, that had continuity of flow and outline and showed awareness of the dramatic things that were happening. And the Allegro portion of the movement was played with similar continuity and awareness, as well as the required power for which the glassy-toned piano that Nat used wasn't adequate. Disappointment came in the great slow movement, where Nat's Andante tempo, in place of the prescribed Adagio, proved to be one in which the expressive effect of the movement couldn't be achieved—at least not when in addition it was played with a lack of rhetorical heightening that made the concluding three measures what the conclusion of this movement cannot be—perfunctory. The performances of Opp. 109 and 110 were good, even with the lessened effect from the lack of rhetorical heightening, except for the perfunctoriness it produced in the Adagio introduction to the last movement of Op. 110 and at the return of the theme at the end of the last movement of Op. 109; and not only, in the measure before the return of the theme, did Nat fail to prepare the listener for the return, but he inserted after the A in the right hand an F sharp and D sharp that Beethoven left out in order to have the A hang in the air and resolve in the initial G sharp of the theme.

Lili Kraus made her reputation with her piano-playing in the superb ensemble performances of Mozart and Beethoven piano-and-violin sonatas with Szymon Goldberg and of Haydn trios with Goldberg and Pini; and this playing must have represented Goldberg's musical guidance, for he played beautifully without her but her solo performances were bad even then. And they continue to be bad today. I have

Sightseeing plus Insight

STUDYTOUR 5
The Nation Seminar
June 24—Aug. 17

STUDYTOUR 2
Economy Tours
July 7—Aug. 10
July 7—Aug. 21

STUDYTOUR #4
Politics, Labor and Social Welfare
July 15—Aug. 22

STUDYTOUR #8
Literary Landmarks
June 15—Aug. 27

STUDYTOUR #9
Festivals of Music and Drama June 29—Aug. 31

Get the greatest benefits from your trip abroad.
Be completely free from the troublesome details of . . . reservations, excursions, luggage, transportation, etc.
Travel with congenial people, who share your interests, under the guidance of qualified leaders.
Do more than just see cathedrals, museums, etc. Meet interesting people in the countries you visit.
Send for complete descriptions of all tours.

WORLD STUDYTOURS

Write Dept. M
WORLD STUDYTOURS
Director, GOODWIN WATSON, PH.D.
A non-profit organization providing adult education through international travel
1175 AMSTERDAM AVENUE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

STRANGE TRIAL OF STANLEY NOWAK. Was "Labor's Senator" framed? 96 pp $1. Wellington's, 346 Concord, Belmont, Mass.

"THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PERIL OF WALDO FRANK" by James L. Brewer, published by New Christian Books, 95 Argyle Street, Halifax, N. S., 15c postpaid.

THE BETTER OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. We search for select fiction and non-fiction. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Sq. Sta., New York 36.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

CHINCHILLAS—You Raise Them. We buy Them. Small capital can show terrific profits at home in your spare time. Free booklet explains our new lease plan. Box 97, Little Neck, New York.

$200 WEEKLY CLEANING VENETIAN BLINDS. Free book. Burtt, 2434AB, Wichita 13, Kansas.

PERSONALS

WELL-EDUCATED WOMAN of progressive mind and cultural tastes, would welcome exchange of views with others, on topics of word interest. Write to: D. Lippmann, P. O. Box 443, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

WANTED ride from New York to Mexico, in March. Will share expenses. Bob Gill, PL 7, 6136, New York City.

AIR CONDITIONER. Top Rated. 1954 model. Regularly $319.95. SPECIAL PRE-SEASON PRICE $174.95. Free storage until installed. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4 Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y.C. GR-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

listened to the performances of Mozart's Fantasias K.396 and 475 and Sonatas K.457 and 576 on a couple of the Haydn Society records of all of Mozart's piano music; and I have been struck by the evidence of a complete lack of any definite conception guiding the playing of as much as a single phrase—the evidence being the fact that not even a phrase is carried through with consistency in force or style from beginning to end—that a phrase which begins powerfully may end as a simper. The Haydn Society has now issued Kraus's performances of the piano-and-violin sonatas with Willi Boskovsky; and it will be interesting to hear whether the playing she does with him has the consistency her solo playing lacks.

London LL-902 offers Prokofiev's Piano Sonatas No. 6, dated 1940, and No. 7, completed in 1942. I find the dissonant writing in the first movement of No. 6, after a striking opening theme, arid; and I don't care more for the finale; but the Allegretto second movement is engaging, and the third movement, heavily sugared at first, becomes more impressive as it becomes more involved and dissonant in its middle section. The more unattractively dissonant first movement of No. 7 I find even less rewarding than that of No. 6; but the middle movement, which begins in the heavily sugared manner of the third movement of No. 6, becomes even more impressively involved and dissonant in its middle section; and the finale is the best thing in the two works—an explosion of motor energy in an unrelenting ostinato in seven-eighths time that builds up tremendous cumulative power. The performances by Robert Cornman are superb.

The Boccherini piano quintets on London LL-749—identified as No. 1 in A and the posthumous No. 4 in D minor—belong among the lesser examples of a highly individual way of thinking and writing that is engaging even in its lesser manifestations. Excellent performances by the Chigi Quintet are reproduced in a way that makes the piano too dominant over the strings.

London LL-1048 offers four Mendelssohn overtures—the lovely "Fingal's Cave," the fine "Ruy Blas," the "Fair Melusina" with its exquisite opening section, and the uninteresting "Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage"—with beautiful playing by the Vienna Philharmonic in performances that are not always effectively paced and shaped by Schuricht.

Columbia SL-218 offers Mahler's engaging Symphony No. 1, performed superbly by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic, and the performance reproduced with sound that is astounding not only in its beauty and fidelity but in its complete naturalness. And for once the material on the two envelopes—Walter's notes, photographs of Mahler, reproductions and translations of his letters—is excellent.

The Radio Berlin Symphony which plays Prokofiev's "Scythian Suite" under Kleinert on Urania 7138 is a better orchestra, and is better recorded, than the Vienna Symphony which plays it under Scherchen on the old Westminster record; but Kleinert's performance lacks the energy and power of Scherchen's.

Britten's resourcefulness achieves more interesting results in the variations of his "Diversions" for piano left hand and orchestra than in his "Sinfonia da Requiem." He conducts excellent performances by Katchen and the London Symphony and by the Danish State Radio Symphony on London LL-1123.

Illness kept me from Mattiwilda Dobbs' recital; but I had dependable reports of exquisite small-scale singing in a program of songs that called for more vocal and expressive power and variety.

COMING
IN THE BOOK SECTION

"The State of Alaska"
By Ernest Gruening
Reviewed by Evelyn Stefansson

"Human Society in Ethics and Politics"
By Bertrand Russell
Reviewed by Abraham Edel

"The Vagabond"
By Colette
Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch

BUY

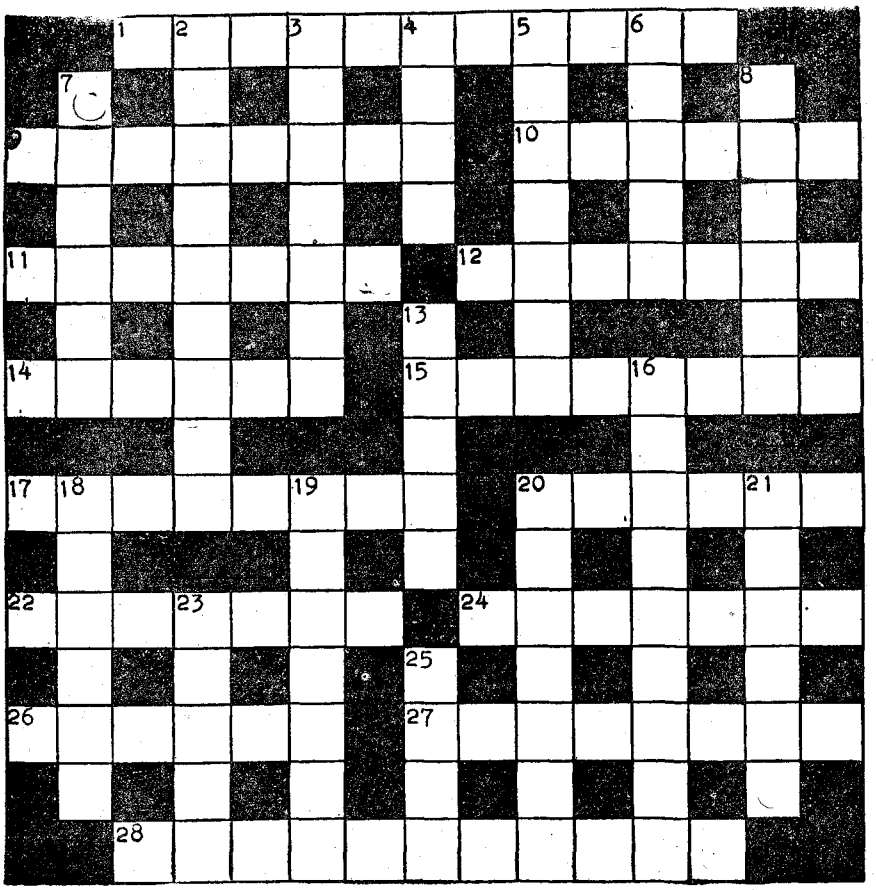
UNITED STATES

SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 609

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Cover the showcase glass? (11)
9 Portion of fish tacked on, perhaps. (4,4)
10 A bad little dog thus surrounded is infective. (6)
11 Come around when the D.A.R. returns, friend! (7)
12 Makes imperfect ovals? (7)
14 Possible explanation of the beginning and end of the story. (6)
15 A mouse without a tail and a rather large head. (8)
17 Dye scent. (8)
20 Fish study (for the young man). (6)
22 Keeps on short rations. (7)
24 Reduce contraction with paralysis. (7)
26 Fish study (for those who like a good plot). (6)
27 Bitter return of an actor who should be in his element. (8)
28 Fish study (for the professional). (11)

DOWN

2 Give a conservative part of the services. (9)
3 "No, at ——— in the bustle of man's work-time Greet the unseen with a cheer!" (Browning) (7)
4 See 8 down.
5 Quarterbacks in particular should have such grades. (7)
6 Obviously a good place for a plane transfer. (5)
7 Look in the cut for a rubber. (6)
8 and 4 down. Not necessarily implying uncertainty about your past actions. (3,3,4)
13 George William Russell about to order a live solution. (5)
16 Occupation of the first little pig. (9)
18 "I ne're saw ——— on a lip But where my own did hope to sip." (Sheridan) (6)
19 High rate of speed? (7)
20 Little by little it takes place before 2 down. (7)
21 Force debts to be detestable. (6)
23 Indian. (5)
25 Probably expecting something to be awry! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 608

ACROSS: 1 and 5 down FRENCH DOORS; 4 EDMONTON; 10 EMPORIA; 11 OUTLETS; 12 STRAW; 13 COS; 14 ELITE; 15 IVORY; 17 ROCHELLE; 21 ACCUSTOM; 26 AMUSE; 29 HEDGE; 30 MOLOTOV; 31 STARRED; 32 DITTY BAG; 33 STAYED. DOWN: 1 FREE-SOIL; 2 ESPARTO; 3 CAREW; 7, 6 and 23 THE MILL ON THE FLOSS; 8 and 28 across NISSEN HUT; 9 BACCARAT; 16 YOU; 18 COMATOSE; 19 ELF; 20 ASCENDED; 22 COUPLET; 24 ORDERLY; 25 JAMMED; 27 ENTRY; 28 and 29 down HAVE A HEART.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. *Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality.* Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL SITES
54 Acres — Jersey City
for lease to tenants who may erect their own tax-exempt buildings, or we will build 20,000 to One Million square feet for lease to acceptable tenants.
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
565 Fifth Ave., New York 17

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

CAMERAS ETC.

GERMAN CAMERAS & BINOCULARS. Import your own. Savings up to 35% on new Zeiss, Rolleiflex, Exakta, and all other makes. Experienced, intelligent, (and objective) advisory service for the technician or hobbyist. Please specify interests and requirements. Immediate airmail reply. Worldpost, Tangier International Zone, Morocco.

MEETINGS

TESTIMONIAL DINNER
DR. BENZION LIBER
Prof. of Psychiatry at the Polyclinic Medical School —Author and Lecturer
In recognition of his 50 years of public service on the occasion of his 80th birthday.
Sunday, March 13, 1 P.M. at Hotel Empire Crystal Ballroom, 63 Street and Broadway, New York City
DR. LIBER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMM.
161 W. 56 Sreet, Room 602, N. Y. 19
$5.00 Per Person—Reservations Necessary

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE Nation with

☐ Harper's Magazine $9.50

You save $2.50

THE Nation with

☐ Consumer Reports $10.75

You save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE Nation by itself:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for.....years
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET _____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

3-5-55

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED